10¢ MARCH 13, 1950

New Republic

A JEW LOOKS AT VATICAN POLICY

By J. L. TELLER

NEW GOUGE FOR CONSUMERS:

THE MEANING OF THE NATURAL-GAS BILL

By ROBERT WALLACE

WHAT WILL FOLLOW ECA?

AN EDITORIAL

531 SECRETARIES OF STATE:

CONGRESS INVADES THE EXECUTIVE POWER

By IRVING BRANT

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Time to Talk!

THAT new talks on international atomic control are in the offing can scarcely be doubted. Whether yielding to the pressure exerted on him and on Secretary Acheson, or pursuing his own course, the President has conceded that new plans and new ideas for atom control will be listened to. At least in Washington and it is hoped in Moscow.

¶ Early last fall the *New Republic* took the lead in proposing major changes in the Baruch Plan. Of the five concrete suggestions made, Senator Austin said "perhaps they may assist in the continuing effort at coöperation among the nations and in determining whether there is a 'better and more effective plan'."

¶ Shortly to start in the *New Republic* is a series of four articles by the Editors on Atom Control. Prepared in Washington with the assistance of technical experts, these articles are one of the major journalistic efforts of this magazine's long career. When completed, the series will have restated and explained every relevant fact that is available to the public about atom fission, the A- and the H-bomb, military and industrial uses of atomic energy. It will have reëxamined the whole history of international negotiation for control and made specific proposals looking toward a workable plan that would have a real chance of acceptance.

¶ Discussion and understanding, first by public opinion in America and the Western World—discussion by and with the Russians in the agencies of the UN—then negotiation. The ideas advanced by the *New Republic,* by the Quakers, by the organizations of scientists, those of the statesmen and publicists of every land, *must* be explored and discussed.

—o—

The defeatism of "no negotiation" lies behind us; the prospect of renewed talks lies ahead.

—o—

¶ To follow this most urgent controversy of the twentieth century, to be aware, alert and informed, read this series and read the *New Republic*. It is the magazine of ideas, of discussion, of understanding.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE ESSENTIAL INSECURITY of conservatives is nowhere better revealed than in their theory that they are somehow surrounded by radical propaganda. Since they control practically every editorial page in America, their feeling is funny, astonishing, illuminating. Our dear old friend the *Satevepost* had a leading editorial last week, believe it or not, "Must Propaganda Be the Monopoly of Our Leftists?" Arthur Krock has been talking, too, about "the superior articulation of the Left."

In our secret heart we have always felt that this column was perhaps a shade superior to the *Post's*, but until now we had supposed that the *Post* had the edge in circulation. Evidently we are wrong: "Political pressure is pretty nearly a left-wing monopoly these days," the *Post* explains. Well, dawg our cats.

What really terrifies conservatives, of course, is the tangible and evident victory of liberal ideas over massed propaganda. In 20 years America has gone through one of the world's greatest peaceful revolutions. Trade unionism has arrived, social welfare has arrived, internationalism has arrived. At this moment the creeping, irresistible progress of the Brannan Plan and the Truman health program is evident to nearly everybody. We can see why multi-million-circulation magazines like the *Post* and the *Reader's Digest* are dithering as the tide comes in. In fact, they are justified. Compared to their 16-inch guns, our column looks like a slingshot; but a slingshot loaded with an idea is quite a weapon—as little David once illustrated.

All the ideas and leadership in discussing international curbs for the atom bomb are coming from outside the Administration these days. Senator McMahon (D, Conn.) and David Lilienthal are making the speeches Truman ought to be making. Careful reading of McMahon shows little real indication, however, that he is more optimistic about reaching an agreement with Moscow than is Acheson. But while the only word that gets across the Atlantic in the Truman-Acheson way of putting things is "no," McMahon rolls his "yes" right around the world.

The Taft-Hartley Act took a sock on the jaw last week. Judge Keech decided that the coal miners were not in contempt. The capacity of the turbulent industry to bring the nation to the brink of disaster is only equaled by the nation's ability to forget the whole thing the minute the rescue finally occurs at one minute to 12. Coal has been seized five times in seven years. We have no love for nationalization, but we can't see either the operators or Old Eyebrows dealing with the almost insurmountable problem of excess capacity, and the law of supply and demand doesn't operate in coal.

We have always considered the Taft-Hartley Act a goldbrick. The Lewis maneuver has rubbed the gilt pretty thin. Congress must decide now whether to have another go at it. A Congress dominated by lawyers is always tempted to invade the delicate field of human relations by rigid statutes, but it's as hard to legislate here as to try to spell out the duties between husband and wife.

Unless Senator McCarthy (R, Wis.) has something up his sleeve, his charges of 57 "card-carrying Communists and sympathizers" in the State Department are apt to blow up in his face. All the evidence indicates that McCarthy (known as "Windy Joe" on the Hill) has got hold of an old suspect list, the winnowed members of which have been cleared by two loyalty boards, each headed by a Republican.

We watched Major G. Racey Jordan make his second appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee last week under Fulton Lewis Jr.'s sympathetic auspices. Jordan is a man of strong views and red hair. He agreed that when he previously testified under oath that Harry Hopkins gave him that mysterious telephone call in 1944 he

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must have meant "1943." He agreed that it must have been 45 pounds of uranium components sent by air to Russia through Great Falls, Montana, and not "500," as he previously testified. Also, those glass carboys he swore contained "heavy water" probably did, after all, contain only sulphuric acid. "I couldn't trust my memory after seven years, could I?" asked the plausible major at one point. We made a note to listen to Lewis' explanation of these discrepancies on his broadcast that night and then clean forgot about it.

The American Constitution should be amended to allow representation without statehood. Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii would give them two Senators and a Representative apiece, though their total population is smaller than most Congressional districts. The rotten-borough system in the Senate already deprives big states like New York and California of adequate voice.

Here in the District of Columbia, too, Washington residents are badly treated. A bill for self-government in local affairs passed the Senate but is blocked by Southerners in House committee because one-third of the District residents are Negroes and the proposal involves civil-rights issues. Over in Russia the public is at least allowed to vote "yes."

Notes. Arrangements are being made for two big international conferences: British-French-US foreign ministers will meet in Europe in April; this will probably be followed by conferences with the nine other Atlantic Pact foreign ministers. Major conference subjects: China, Germany and post-ECA problems. . . . Brannan warns that the hog-price-support program may cause more trouble than potatoes. . . . Though the Byrd "economy" committee costs money, duplicates another committee and doesn't produce economy, it will probably be retained; there's something soothing in hearing the word "economy" while Senators vote pork-barrel grabs. . . . After two months Congress hasn't passed a single big Administration bill. . . . The more the GOP examines the British Conservatives' election gains, the more it is forced to admit that a "me-too" policy was responsible.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Peace Crusade

SIR: That shout from the Old Curmudgeon calling for a new Peter the Hermit to lead the moral crusade for a peaceful world (the *NR*, February 20) ought to be reprinted and flung out to fly through the world with the March winds. What an echoing shout this challenge would bring from men in other nations! Shelley launched green bottles "filled with knowledge" in the Bristol Channel, hoping they would be wafted to some other free-born soul. Do the same with this noble page. . . .

Wayne, Pa. JOHN A. LESTER

SIR: To this citizen, as to many, I am sure, Senator McMahon's proposals seemed a ray of light in a heavily overcast sky. When the *New Republic* came out with "The Hydrogen Bomb: Strategy of Despair" (February 13), I felt a sense of relief to find there was still sanity crying out against policies in which insanity seemed to be masquerading in the name of "realism." When Harold Ickes' columns, "Let the President Lead" and "Mr. Acheson on His Pedestal," appeared (February 20 and 27), I think I felt more hope than I had for a long time, knowing that his voice would reach high places and be listened to. . . .

I write to you now with a sense of urgency about one thing . . . that disturbs me . . . *namely, the simple fact that President Truman is no crusader.* A good campaigner for one's self is not necessarily the leader of a crusade for a great cause. . . .

Citizens have at last been aroused, both by the H-bomb announcement as the ghastly climax to the Acheson-Truman policies and by the arrogance of Mr. Acheson and Mr. Truman in presuming to toss off, on their own, the fate of all citizens—and all mankind. But there are ways and means of pacifying the citizens or arousing fresh anti-Russian belligerencies that will drown out sense, ways of stopping the rising opposition to our undemocratic foreign policy which has shut out for so long the benefit of citizen-perspective, citizen-intuition, and the clarifyng process of full democratic discussion. The question becomes: *How are we going to get a real peace program going in the face of the major obstacles of Mr. Acheson and Mr. Truman? How can we get a real leader . . . capable of directing an imaginative and realistic program for world peace?*

It seems to me . . . there is some chance of putting public heat on the President, if we act fast, to *back* a peace-planning commission or board or project under the United Nations, with a coöperating national board or commission. I have suggested some such thing in letters to President Truman and others, and I have suggested David Lilienthal as director. Mr. Lilienthal is perhaps more administrator than crusader, but I think the crusade will be there, once someone opens the gates to public participation and citizen interest. . . .

Champaign, Ill. MRS. A. W. CLEVENGER

Wallace Said It

SIR: To call Senator McMahon's plea for a universal Marshall Plan a "new" idea is cruelly to ignore Wallace's "old" proposal for a US-supported, UN-administered, non-discriminatory UNRRA. To call belatedly for American mobilization of peace sentiment (Russia has inspired mass peace meetings throughout the world) and to forget the interference by "liberals" with identical action in New York last year; to call for disarmament and to forget that American rejection of Russian disarmament proposals went unquestioned in this country except by the Wallace wing is to reveal the moral anemia which characterizes a large segment of liberal American opinion.

There is scant consolation in the knowledge that one was right. Perhaps the H-Bomb will succeed, where we of the Progressive Party have failed, in awakening America to the urgent need of united action for peace and international good will.

Brooklyn, N. Y. SAMUEL WEISS

Beautiful Spain

SIR: I read Daniel M. Friedenberg's article on his visit to Spain in your February 20 issue. From it I see that liberalism, which has already with its Hisses, Fuchs, Wallaces and popular-front coalitions betrayed half the world into slavery, still gets a feeling of self-righteousness when heaping abuse on the poor Generalissimo.

Incidentally, Mr. Friedenberg has no doubt seen the ads in many well-known magazines inviting tourists to Spain. Certainly, this is not customary in the Eastern "democracies," whose brand of "democracy" it was so fashionable to praise. There cannot be something *so awful* in Spain if you are invited to come and see. If Mr. Ickes, who knows so much for a person who has not been there, decides to wander to Spain, I am sure that he will enjoy it. If he goes there this summer, I will be glad to show him around and have him as my guest.

I know Spain, her people, her language, her virtues, and her many faults, rather well. And the blame for her troubles is not *all* Franco's, but is mainly due to the recent drought and economic isolation; the selfishness of her rich; and the bungling of her bureaucratic government, which happens to be a "Fair Deal" that should be the envy of Harry.

Cambridge, Mass. RAMON M. ESTEVE JR.

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 11, ISSUE 1841, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 13, 1950 New Republic

WHAT WILL FOLLOW ECA?

THE TWELVE NATIONS that are bound together by the North Atlantic Pact are planning to meet this spring to consider their common future. They face many urgent problems that demand piecemeal settlement. But the real question which they must soon answer is whether the Atlantic community itself is to be given new purpose for the future, or left to whiten in the boneyard of barren pretensions.

Until now the combined action of America and Western Europe has been directed largely to the distribution of Marshall Plan aid. Now the Marshall Plan is approaching its end. If present trends continue and no new program is developed, then the cut-off date of June 30, 1952, will open up a black void. American national income, and with it our demand for imports, will be falling. Europe's annual dollar earnings will be at least one billion less than its annual dollar needs and its gold and dollar reserves will be below the levels of 1945. Either each nation in Europe will be forced back to economic nationalism, rationing and measures of trade war, or a new non-Soviet, non-dollar world will gradually begin to take shape behind its own protective walls.

No last-minute makeshift measures can forestall these disasters. There is barely time today to initiate a continuing long-range program that can be fully operative within two years. Whether or not we are able to reopen negotiations with Russia, the time has come for a full-scale conference to plan for the continuing welfare and stability of the non-Soviet world.

II

Both the strength and the weaknesses of the Marshall Plan serve as guides to a wider long-range program for the future.

The basic strength of the Plan has been its idealism and simplicity of purpose. Without its central inspiration many individual achievements of the past three years might never have been undertaken. It seems equally clear that the measures of integration, of tariff reduction, of capital investment and domestic expansion that America and Europe must undertake during the next ten years are more likely to be achieved if they are seen as necessary parts of an over-all program that can help strengthen world democracy and win world peace.

The basic weakness of the Marshall Plan has been the lack of reciprocity within the Atlantic nations. Europe has been maintained by American aid. Its governments have been dependent on our government in a way that works evil in the long run both for giver and for receiver. Americans have been tempted to export their culture and their prejudices with their aid. Europeans have found it all too easy to lay every surrender to the Right and every failure of the Left at America's door.

After 1952 the transfer of wealth from America to Europe will form a much smaller part of any over-all program. In place of a scheme based on inequality, there should be a program that requires action by all participants. In place of a coöperative effort within Europe to distribute American resources, there should be a coöperative effort by America and Europe to raise their own standards and those of all the world.

Three major endeavors, we suggest, should make up this unified, coöperative effort: first, a common commitment to maintain full employment; second, a common commitment to reduce all barriers to trade and immigration; third, a common effort of capital investment to raise standards of living in underdeveloped areas. If these endeavors—or others—are undertaken, each nation should be required to report its progress to an Atlantic council at least three times a year.

III

Full Employment. Every compact made by the West, from the UN Charter to the North Atlantic Pact, commits the signatories to full employment. Nothing has been done to carry out this commitment. Yet the inner conflicts concerning employment policies are an underlying weakness of the West.

The long-range objective of the Marshall Plan has been the integration of the European economy. Progress, according to Paul Hoffman, has been "disappointing." One reason is the resistance of high-cost producers in each country. A second reason is that integration requires a consistent approach throughout Europe on matters of fiscal policy which does not exist today. One group of inflation-minded nations, led by Britain, refuses to solve its external problems by means that involve domestic unemployment. A second group, led by Germany, Italy and Belgium, seeks to solve its external problems by deflation, that is, by permitting unemploy-

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ment to develop and then exporting it both by cheap exports and the lowered demand for imports that unemployment creates. The British position has certainly been far too rigid; yet a necessary step in integration is a common agreement that action must be taken to combat mass unemployment.

This agreement, as we have suggested, is one in which America should participate. Fear of an American depression is a major cause of economic nationalism in Europe. That fear is growing, with good reason, in Europe today.

The brief setback of 1948 cost Western Europe $1.5 billion. A substantial decline will wreck all the narrow margins on which Europe's recovery is planned. Unless there is a continuous rise in American income and imports there is no hope of bringing the world's dollar shortage to manageable size.

On this vital matter a conspiracy of silence exists. Secretary Acheson has merely hinted that further tariff reductions might be eased by subsidizing the industries that suffer as the result of increased imports. That is exactly the wrong approach. Drastic reductions were made in our tariffs in 1947. They went unnoticed because prices and production were rising. Today even the CIO is threatening to oppose tariff reductions if unemployment continues to increase. In times of falling income, however, no promise of special subsidies will ease tariff reductions. Acheson's program is both impracticable and beside the point. The point is that domestic expansion is the heart and guts of our foreign policy and that, quite apart from the indirect benefits reaped by Russia, unemployment will directly wreck all that we are trying to do. We can no longer afford the illusion that foreign and domestic policies are unrelated. An economic-expansion program for America, backed by the entire Administration and emphasized through its relation to a larger effort of the Atlantic nations, is the first step in giving flesh and blood to the Atlantic union that we seek.

Liberating Trade. America is insisting that all barriers to trade within Europe be eliminated in order to raise productivity and make possible free trade between Europe and the world. Europeans who resist this pressure point out that the long-range solution of integration bears little relation to the short-term problems of 1952, and that increased productivity in Europe can lead to greater exports only if America is willing to lower her tariffs.

Lowered tariffs are necessary, both to raise imports and as an evidence of good faith. Lowered tariffs and rising employment might lead to an increase of $2 billion a year in imports over present levels. Yet a very large dollar gap for the world as a whole would still remain. It can best be met by a program of capital investment directed largely to underdeveloped areas. At the same time the need for some aid to Europe will remain.

By now the OEEC nations have removed quantitative restrictions on 50 percent of their trade with one another. The remaining 50 percent is the really difficult area in which free trade will cause bankruptcy, unemployment and agricultural distress. These hardships will be faced only if a comprehensive Europewide program exists for the retooling of industries, the reorganization of agriculture, the retraining and relocation of displaced workers. This program, which amounts to an internal public-works program for Europe, should be underwritten by American aid. ECA insists that the prevention of discrimination and cartelization within Europe, and the correlation of fiscal policies, will require the creation of economic and political institutions for Europe. Our aid should be given largely to these institutions to underwrite European currencies and put into effect a program of public works throughout Europe.

Capital Investment. Western Europe is largely an industrial area. By 1952 its industrial capacity will be far above prewar levels. Its problem will be markets. America's need for Europe's goods is limited; the needs of the rest of the world are very great. Europe's shortage of dollars will be considerable. But it will be manageable if markets for Europe's industrial production can be created in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Devaluation has brought Europe's products within reach of underdeveloped nations. Their problem is their earning capacity. In prewar days, trade was triangular, with the surplus of exports from the underdeveloped areas to America financing our exports to Europe, and Europe's exports to these areas. Now the dollar shortage is worldwide. Only American lending can maintain the buying capacity of the raw-material producers for Europe's industrial exports.

It is in our direct interest that America should finance this trade. Today, under the spell of mercantilist notions, we permit the Export-Import Bank to lend dollars only if they are spent on purchases in this country. Yet Export-Import Bank dollars used to finance European exports would ultimately be spent in America and, by serving double duty, would accomplish far more good.

The UN, of course, should be the directing force of the Point Four program. But the close coöperation of America and Western Europe as the two principal suppliers of industrial capital is one vital condition of its success. The other condition is continuity, and unless the capital-investment program is prepared at once, there will be no continuity at all.

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THE WEEK

THE COAL SETTLEMENT

The great coal "war" of 1949-50 ended, as it was bound to end, when President Truman threw the power of the government behind a demand that John L. Lewis and the operators settle their dispute or submit to seizure of the mines. It ended after Taft-Hartley prosecution of the union blew up and the owners could no longer reject a compromise settlement in the hope that T-H alone would whip the miners back to work.

Senator Robert A. Taft *et al.* received Judge Richmond B. Keech's not-guilty verdict against the union with evidences of shock and fury. Taft and his followers charged that the Department of Justice had bungled the prosecution of the contempt-of-court accusation. They wanted the government's pound of flesh from the union treasury; they wanted their law proved "effective."

Actually Judge Keech's verdict was the luckiest break the country got during the long coal controversy. For the first time in months conditions were created which forced the operators to recognize that in this situation T-H is not a substitute for genuine collective bargaining. There would have been no "effectiveness" in a multi-million-dollar fine to which the miners might have indignantly responded by a further refusal to work without a contract. They could eventually have been beaten back to their jobs by the fiercest sanction of the law. But there is a Constitutional provision against involuntary servitude which is deeply imbedded in the consciousness of American citizens, among them the miners. Judge Keech did our democracy a favor by making his decision on the narrowest legal grounds—the simple fact that the Justice Department did not prove that top officials of the union were responsible for the refusal of 370,000 individual miners to work without a contract.

What of the future? So far as the Taft-Hartley Act is concerned, there is no more prospect of repeal than there was a year ago. But it should be recognized that, as Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) pointed out two weeks ago, the existence of T-H encouraged the operators to prolong a stalemate and create a crisis. The law provides severe sanctions against unions and no sanctions whatever against employers, and that is the fundamental weakness of the so-called national-emergency section.

As for coal, it is—in the language of President Truman and Senator Morse—a "sick industry." The reason it is "sick," however, is the simple fact that too many mines can produce too much coal for the domestic needs of the country, not that coal is becoming less important as a source of energy.

A thorough Congressional investigation would disclose that new techniques of mining coal and converting coal to gas and oil should give the industry a great future. It would disclose that, in the meantime, if low-profit mines must be shut down, the country has a responsibility to the thousands of miners who will be displaced from their jobs.

Lewis tried to protect these miners by spreading the work through a three-day week and by the operations of his welfare fund. Now that the strike is over, the welfare fund remains intact. It is the responsibility of everyone—the government, the operators, the union—to seek constructive long-term solutions for the major problems.

BACK IN THE FOLD

Glen Taylor, of Idaho, has completed the transition from Progressive Party running-mate of Henry A. Wallace to a regular Democrat. Months ago, Taylor broke off ties with the Progressives and devoted himself to rebuilding his fences in his home state, to saying little but voting "regular" in the Senate.

When Right-of-Center Clinton P. Anderson (D, N.M.), chairman of the powerful Senate Democratic Committee for the 1950 elections, visited Boise last week to be the principal speaker at the Idaho Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner, Senator Taylor was the host at an overflow reception for 1,000 leading Democrats in Anderson's honor. In sparsely populated Idaho such a turnout is exceptional. Some anti-Taylor Democrats are beginning to wonder whether they were overconfident in matching the rabidly reactionary and isolationist former Representative D. Worth Clark against Taylor in the primary. Two weeks ago, the Joint Farmer-Labor Committee, representing all AFL, CIO, Brotherhood and Farmers' Union locals in the state unanimously endorsed Taylor. Equally important, the patronage rights, taken from Taylor after his desertion to the Wallace ticket, have now been restored by the Democratic National Committee, and he has the assurance that if he wins the primary nomination, he will have the full support of the national party in November.

THE RENT-CONTROL FIGHT

A pending Congressional move to end federal rent control would affect some 45 million people living in 11 million houses and apartments. Last week, the Senate Appropriations Committee granted the long-cherished wishes of the landlord lobby when it rejected the Administration's request for a $3.6 million deficiency appropriation to continue rent-control operations of the Housing Expediter through June 30. Action was taken behind closed doors and there was no record vote.

Prime foe of rent control, Senator Harry Cain (R, Wash.) came into the executive session bearing a huge map showing that most of the country has already been decontrolled. He convinced the 21-member appropriations group that no extension was necessary. Of course Cain did not mention that the scattered areas still under control represent some of the most highly populated centers in the country—New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Seattle, for instance. Senator Burnet Maybank (D, S.C.), chairman of the Banking Committee, which handles rent legislation, and who is also a member of the appropriations group, protested that the Banking Committee should hold hearings on whether continuation of rent control was justified before any action was taken.

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Leaving no doubt that it favored terminating controls once and for all, the committee recommended a final appropriation of $2.6 million solely for the payment of terminal leave to the 4,135 employees administering the rent law.

The bill containing the rent-control cut-off can come up for Senate consideration at any time Appropriations Committee Chairman Kenneth McKellar (D, Tenn.) wishes to call it up. Senator John Sparkman, head of the Banking subcommittee, promises a fight on the Senate floor to give the agency at least enough money to enforce the law until June 30.

SHIPKOV'S "CONFESSION"

Michael Shipkov is either in a Bulgarian prison awaiting execution, or already dead; a Bulgarian citizen, he is charged with spying for the Americans and with sabotage. He himself has said he is innocent of these charges, and the American legation in Sofia, which employed him as a translator, strongly denies the accusation, as does the State Department in Washington. Before he disappeared into the hands of the Bulgarian secret police, Shipkov wrote an 8,000-word statement that throws a good deal of light on the methods used in Russia and its satellites to obtain "confessions."

Shipkov was arrested on August 20, 1949, apparently for no reason except that he worked for the American legation. For 32 hours he was questioned and tortured, being forced to stand for long periods leaning forward so that the tip of the middle finger on each hand barely touched the wall. As he himself says, "This posture does not appear unduly painful, nor did it particularly impress me in the beginning. And yet, combined with the mental strain, with the continuous pressure to talk, with the utter hopelessness and the longing to go through the thing and be sent down into silence and peace—it is a very effective manner of breaking down all resistance.

"I recall that the muscles on my legs and shoulders began to get cramped and to tremble. . . . I was drenched with sweat and began to faint, although I had not exerted myself in any way." Finally, to end the torture, Shipkov agreed to everything his tormentors wanted him to say, signed the "confession" and agreed to spy on the Americans. He was immediately released, whereupon he wrote the document reciting his torture, and turned it over to the American authorities. For more than four months nothing happened: then he was rearrested and, like so many thousands of others, disappeared from view.

There is nothing new in all this. Everyone has known for many years that torture of this type is standard practice in the Communist world. It is still not wholly clear how so many people are persuaded to stand up in open court and confess, though the Shipkov case throws some light on this matter, also. The episode shows again the difficulty we face in coöperating, through the United Nations or anywhere else, with governments which rely so heavily on actions of this type.

THE LEGION'S BLUFF

The American Legion is used to having its way, particularly where the Veterans' Administration—which it regards as its private preserve—is concerned. That is a major reason for the appalling inefficiency of the VA, whose annual budget is $6 billion.

This inefficiency was exposed by the Hoover Commission. The Commission scrupulously refrained from recommending any change in veterans' benefits, but it showed how these benefits could be given with better service and at far lower cost. It proposed that the hospital-construction work of the VA be transferred to the Department of Interior, that the veterans' insurance program be reorganized on business lines in a special corporation within the VA, that a limited, unified medical administration be created to certify veterans for hospitalization, and that the Housing and Home Finance Agency be given the administration of the GI home-loan program.

This last recommendation alone would save endless time and worry for veterans who seek to buy their own homes. The Legion, however, blasted the whole report as an effort to "destroy and dismember" the VA. That seemed to kill the recommendations on veterans.

But the Legion has been challenged by the American Veterans Committee, which has survived a long fight against a Communist-led minority and now boasts 265 active chapters. The AVC condemned the Legion's campaign as "lies, vilification and abuse" motivated by a desire to protect the Legion's patronage and power. Its local leaders are challenging local Legionnaires to come out and fight. The AVC national chairman (who happens to be editor of the *NR*) is leaving soon on a national tour to press the AVC's attack home. If the AVC succeeds, it will have called one of the biggest and most harmful bluffs in American politics.

PUBLIC POWER VICTORY

PIERRE, S. D. (NR correspondent)

The South Dakota legislature has opened the way for the state to become the second all-public-power state in the union, following its neighbor Nebraska. Public pressure against the private utilities forced Republican Governor George T. Mickelson to call a special session of the legislature last month to enact a bill permitting organization of public-utility districts. Under federal law, preference for the power generated at the four big Missouri River dams now rising in the state must be given "public users" such as Rural Electrification coöperatives, municipally owned systems and public-utility districts. South Dakota suddenly found itself long on power but short on "public users."

Former Governor M. Q. Sharpe and State Democratic Chairman Joe Robbie started the campaign for the PUD bill last year. The threat that South Dakota, now largely served by private power companies, would have to stand by and see power flow beyond its borders because of the preference regulation finally produced the legislative action. The bill permits areas within the state to hold referenda to set up public-utility districts which would build power systems or buy existing ones in the area. It stipulates, however, that such districts cannot sell power more than 12 miles beyond their own borders. If this restriction is removed at the next legislative session, as was the pattern in Nebraska, public power districts will be able to take over private power companies throughout the state.

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Should South Dakota convert wholly or largely to public power, the heat will be on North Dakota, site of the Garrison Dam, the largest project in the Missouri Basin plan, and on another neighbor, Montana, now dominated by the Montana Power Company.

"THE BICYCLE THIEF"

Vittorio de Sica's "The Bicycle Thief" has been banned by the Motion Picture Association of America. It was voted the best foreign picture of 1949 by the New York Film Critics Circle; the best picture, foreign or domestic, by the National Board of Review; it was approved by the Catholic Legion of Decency. Nevertheless, the Johnston Office has managed to be offended by two scenes in it, and it will not be allowed to compete with the Hollywood product.

The mishap to de Sica's masterpiece would be laughable (a little like a Nobel Prize winner being rejected as a Man of Distinction) if the MPAA were not as powerful as it is arbitrary. Its refusal to issue a "certificate of approval" automatically excludes the picture from all the chain theatres and from the majority of independent houses that never rent pictures until they have been shown by the chains. Its American distributor, Joseph Burstyn, says this will limit the showing of the picture to about 200 of the country's 18,000 screens.

Of course, de Sica could delete the "objectionable" scenes without materially damaging his superlative work. But he is not disposed to submit to this petty sniping from the watchdogs of American film purity and prosperity. "The Bicycle Thief" won't win an Oscar either—foreign films are now excluded.

PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION

For months, Communist and Progressive Party circles had tingled with talk of what Henry Wallace was likely to do. To old friends, Wallace had been increasingly critical of his party managers for failure to rid the movement of its "Communist-controlled" label. His conviction that a new party was needed to keep the US out of war and depression did not appear to have changed. But powerful new elements, as he saw it, would have to be brought into the narrow, existing Progressive Party if it were to do that job. Wallace had in mind mainly the Protestant clergy and farm leaders. Obviously, these groups could not be persuaded to accept the Progressive Party as a political instrument in its present state.

Recently, Wallace is understood to have made his objections ultimata. Either public action would have to be taken to contradict "party-line" positions of the past and distinguish Progressives from Communists, or he would dissociate himself from the new party he made possible. C. B. Baldwin, John Abt and other top Progressives persuaded Wallace to present his position to the whole organization at the party's second national convention and promised their coöperation in getting his views adopted.

The American Communist leadership, in the midst of carving out a 1950 line for itself, found it not too difficult to agree with Wallace's demands. As these leaders see it today, the reëlection of Truman appears preferable to the accession of an Eisenhower or a Taft, and a consequent, gradual shift in the CP line seems in prospect. At the Progressive Party convention just ended in Chicago, the Communists did, in fact, vote, as Wallace requested, for a resolution declaring that the Soviet Union as well as the US could make mistakes in foreign policy. In restating his position, Wallace said that the Progressive Party had erred in shouting down the "Vermont resolution" to this effect, offered at the founding convention two years ago. Many of the delegates who had done that shouting now voted to reverse themselves in deference to the new thinking.

In line with an announced desire to coöperate with Left-of-Center Democrats even including ADAers, the convention's Congressional campaign committee recommended a change in election policy as well. This year Progressive candidates are to be entered in only a handful of carefully chosen areas. In most districts, Progressives will support labor-liberal nominees. The principal "national concentration" will be brought to bear on the reëlection of Representative Vito Marcantonio in New York City.

Apart from these two changes, the second Progressive convention reaffirmed the party's 1948 stands. Wallace himself attended only the opening session, delivered his carefully prepared address, and caught the next train for his old home town, Des Moines, "to look into the price of eggs." Perhaps his thought was to leave the convention free to decide for itself how far it wished to go in putting his suggestions into effect.

The *Daily Worker* correspondent, Rob Hall, flatly asserted that the convention had given Wallace everything he asked for and he must obviously be satisfied with the outcome. ADA Director Charles La Follette declared that the widely publicized "criticism" of the Communists was an "obvious attempt to whitewash Communist influence." Wallace must now decide which is closer to the truth and whether his future political objectives are attainable through the Progressive Party.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

A Western German metallurgical plant, one of the largest in Europe, was dismantled on the orders of the American authorities. The purpose was to lessen Germany's power to make war. For a similar purpose, the Americans forbade sending the parts beyond the Iron Curtain. Soon afterward the parts turned up in France. Then they passed through Spain, through France once more, and through Italy. Finally, they arrived—all in good condition—in Czechoslovakia.

The case is typical. Europe is a smugglers' paradise, thanks to the efforts of the Americans to build barriers to Western trade with the East. The biggest black market of them all is going strong, thanks to the lush profits racketeers can make in bootlegging items on the Department of Commerce's A and B lists—the "strategic" items that can't legally be sent from Western Europe to Eastern Europe or Mao Tse-tung's China.

Officially, politicians and businessmen of the Atlantic countries accept the restrictions. In reality, the connivance of many of them in large-scale rule-breaking is much like that of respectable Americans during the Prohibition Era. Some of the reasons are parallel: there are Europeans who believe as little in the blockade's justice and wisdom as Americans did in Prohibition; there are other Europeans with big pockets and small scruples.

Plenty of economists find the range of the A and B lists too broad. The UN's Economic Commission for Europe has gone on record as predicting trouble ahead unless West trade is boosted by a billion dollars in 1950. Meanwhile, the black market is making trouble for the American rule-enforcers and money for lots of Europeans.

A vast network of official and semi-official complicity has grown up. It extends not only from the lands beyond the Iron Curtain to Trieste, Vienna, Berlin, Paris and London; it also has its ties in Washington and New York. There is a busy undercover trade route from the United States as well as Western Europe to the Soviet satellites by way of Scandinavia, Switzerland, Austria and Western Germany.

Shortages of goods in the East make a seller's market in the West. Risks can be afforded. There are *passeurs* of goods now as there were *passeurs* of men between Vichy-France and German-France in the early war years. Dozens among the hundreds of export-import companies that have sprung up since the start of the Cold War are little more than fronts for the smugglers. Others have important political connections in the highest places; these specialize in various forms of blackmail, selling political influence in exchange for economic immunity.

If Washington is anything like the Western European capitals—and there's little reason to believe quick and big profits are disprized any more in America than in the Old World—there must be powerful lobbying on Capitol Hill against changing the Department of Commerce's A and B lists. But if the blockade works well for some Americans, it can scarcely be said to be working well for the country as a whole.

Another example of the effect of American economic policy in Germany is relevant. The US Government not long ago put a ban on the export of 78,000 tons of steel rails from the Ruhr to China. Thanks to the same policy, the Ruhr plants are making more and more steel; and once more thanks to Washington, Ruhr steel can't be sold in the world market in competition with Pittsburgh or Gary steel. The contradictions make a field day for political racketeers—for the Eastern German officials who do the bidding of Moscow.

In February Premier Ulbricht said that the East German Republic's Minister of Trade was negotiating with Mao in Moscow and had been instructed "to take into account export possibilities of the West German enterprises." East Germany, therefore, was offering to be an export-import middleman between the West German steelmasters (who were making more steel, thanks to American policy) and the buyers of the Soviet world (to whom they couldn't sell their steel, also thanks to American policy). Whether or not such a deal is possible, the mere offer helps the Soviet game in Germany.

Since the days of the Kaiser's *Drang nach Osten*, the Orient has been a magnet for the German nationalists. Now that they are installed in Asia through Mao, the Soviets have a means of exploiting American Cold War mistakes as they affect Germany. The Chinese market can be used to tempt the Ruhr steelmasters and their political followers.

American policy has made the Ruhr industrialists the real masters of the Bonn regime. If they yield to the Soviet temptations, they can easily—in the present state of Western Allied control (or, rather, lack of it)—establish a much faster and shorter route for Western "strategic" materials to travel beyond the Iron Curtain. But if American trade policy isn't changed, the great dangers won't merely be a larger smugglers' black market, more corruption, less prestige for Washington; it will be the weakening of the foundation of the structure of American military security in Europe. The Soviets will really be able to capture the force of the permanent internal drive for German unity.

The London *Economist* writes:

> The crucial test for East-West trade policy, as it is affected by American economic and strategic views, is clearly coming in Germany; and, if there is to be any effective check on exports from the West which would build up the military potential of the Soviet Union's allies, the list of banned goods should be made specific, small, and enforceable without an army of officials.

In Germany, and in Western Europe too, this is considered inadequate. A complete reëxamination of the notion of economic containment by a blockade, imposed by America, is believed to be needed. Otherwise Western Europe, which America wants to be united, will grow increasingly disunited, poisoned by corruption and wracked by hidden sabotage; while Germany, which America wants (at least temporarily) to remain divided, will move toward a Soviet-made unity.

PERCY WINNER

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NEW GOUGE FOR CONSUMERS

by Robert Wallace

THE PETROLEUM INTERESTS which monopolize the nation's natural-gas resources have found a new way to remove billions of dollars from the consumers' pockets, and will soon begin doing so if Congress will pass one little law.

This bill, sponsored by Senators Robert Kerr and Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, and Representative Oren Harris (D, Ark.), passed the House handily last summer; it is close to passage in the Senate today. If it does become law, the gas bills of 40 million natural-gas consumers will rise by $130 to $550 million annually, with total extra costs of $4 to $16 billion over a period of 30 years. These levies on cooking and on the heating and lighting of our homes will add to the immense fortunes of the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Pews, the Phillipses, and the other monopoly combines which control the oil-and-gas industry.

The gas bill would prohibit the Federal Power Commission from regulating the prices charged by "independent" gas producers to the operators who pipe the gas to consumers and allow them to charge "what the traffic will bear." Among these independents may be found Standard of New Jersey, Standard of New York, Standard of Indiana, Gulf, Shell, Sinclair, Phillips, Texas, and Cities Service. They are "independent" because they sell to the pipeline companies, but are not affiliated with them.

Representative Robert Crosser (D, Ohio), who led the fight against the bill in the House, has named 24 of the gas producers who would profit by this bill. They are all mammoth corporations. Their total assets amounted to $14 billion in 1948 and their profits averaged 24 percent after taxes; they are hardly distressed companies in need of relief.

The backers of the bill maintain that if it passes, competition among the producers will keep both prices and profits down. They point out that the prices of coal and oil are not regulated by government. Why not depend on competition to suppress prices in the gas industry as well?

The answer lies in the concentration of ownership in the production of natural gas and the monopolistic control of its distribution.

There are 2,300 gas producers who sell to interstate pipeline companies. Three percent of them account for 70 percent of the sales. The seven Southwestern states of Arkansas, Kansas, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi and New Mexico contain nearly 90 percent of all the gas reserves in the country. There are 600 non-transporting gas producers, but only 12 of these producers sold more than half of all the gas going into interstate pipelines from the Southwest.

Coal can be transported by truck, barge or rail, and fuel oil can use these means as well as pipelines. If prices are unreasonable at any particular coal mine or oil refinery, a buyer can get trucks or railroads to haul from another. For these reasons competition is at least feasible among the producers of coal and oil. But gas does not lend itself to such freedom. If a pipeline company decides to buy gas from a particular field, it lays its pipeline. But if the producers in that field get together and raise their price, the company must either pay the increase or tear up the pipeline and lay a new one to a field with lower prices. Once a pipeline is laid, the competition of other fields is almost nil.

What about the possibility of competition among the various producers in a given field? Cannot one producer underbid another in the same area? The Federal Power Commission posed this question. It carried out studies of fields with combined reserves of 15.5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. It found that in each case one, two or three companies owned from one-half to all of the natural gas.

Price fixing is, of course, contrary to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. That means simply that companies which conspire to fix prices take care not to leave any documentary evidence lying around. Even though the same prices may be charged by all the producers in a single field, proof of conspiracy is hard to obtain.

From 1938, when the Natural Gas Act was passed, to 1947, the price of gas at the well was generally reasonable. Gas reserves, usually discovered during a search for oil, were considered a consolation prize and sometimes a liability. The FPC did not regulate the prices of the non-transporting gas producers during this period. But as the remarkable growth of pipeline companies created an ever expanding demand for gas in the North, East and other regions, prices at the wells soon began to skyrocket.

In recent years, gas prices have doubled and sometimes tripled. Speculation has been widespread, and reserves have been held off the market in the expectation of even higher prices. Yet producers had one great apprehension—the possibility that the FPC might move in to protect the public by regulation.

The oil-and-gas lobby began a campaign during the

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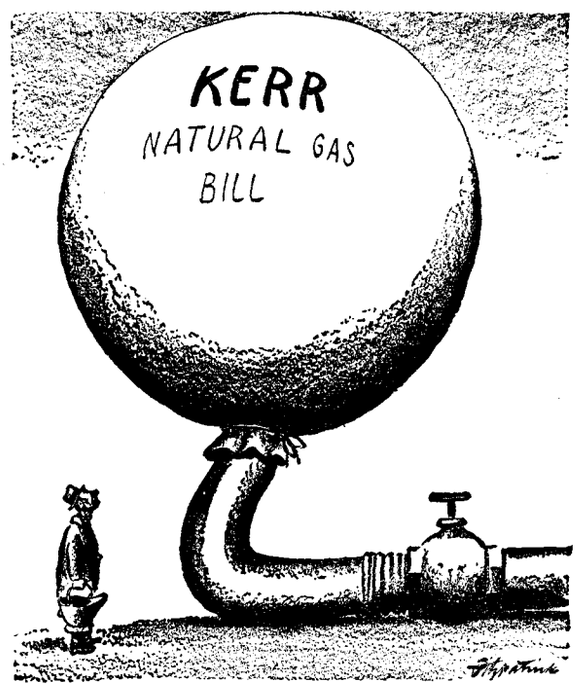
80th Congress to remove this possibility. Their campaign produced the Moore-Rizley bill, which undertook to prohibit regulation of the non-transporting producers and to permit the pipeline companies which owned their own gas wells to charge higher prices to the tune of $50 million a year.

The primary emphasis of the Moore-Rizley bill was placed on allowing higher prices for gas produced by pipeline companies, since, up to that time, no real attempt had been made by the FPC to regulate the non-transporting gas producers. The bill failed. But the campaign of the lobby gained in force.

Early in 1948, the FPC completed a study of the natural-gas industry. It indicated the startling degree to which prices had gone up and the concentration of ownership of gas reserves increased. As a result of this study, Commissioner Leland Olds began his fight for regulation of the prices charged by the non-transporting producers. This effort to protect the public welfare cost Olds his job. Senators from the gas-producing states blocked his confirmation for another term.

The monopolists of the natural-gas industry had good reason to fear Olds. One struggle before the FPC involved the Phillips Petroleum Company. In 1945, the Michigan-Wisconsin Pipeline Company contracted with the Phillips Petroleum Company for gas at a price of five cents per 1,000 cubic feet. But after pipeline construction was well under way, the contracts were renegotiated and additional contracts signed which increased the minimum price to 8.5 cents, with some gas going at 10 and 11 cents. Added yearly costs to consumers amounted to $5 million in this case alone. The price had doubled in four years.



FITZPATRICK IN THE ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

GET READY FOR ANOTHER RIDE

If the gas bill is defeated, the FPC will probably bring producers' gas prices under regulation and, while allowing a fair return on investment, will protect consumers from excessive charges. But if the Kerr bill passes, the gas industry will aim for the highest profits possible and will charge the limit. Natural-gas prices may well go as high as oil and coal on an equivalent heat-value basis, and perhaps higher, since the cleanliness of gas makes it preferable for domestic use. This is already the case in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, where gas costs more than other fuels.

If the price of gas rises in this way, it could ultimately increase as much as 20 cents per 1,000 cubic feet on an average for the whole country, assuming 1947 fuel-oil prices. Based on 1952 consumption, this would mean an ultimate annual increase of more than $500 million in amounts paid by consumers to the big gas companies.

Were gas to increase by the more conservative estimate of five cents per 1,000 cubic feet—and it has already done so in some areas—consumers would still pay an extra $132 million annually. Additional amounts paid out by the various regions would be approximately as follows:

Middle Atlantic States	$ 5,200,000
East North Central States	13,400,000
West North Central States	13,400,000
South Atlantic States	5,800,000
East South Central States	4,000,000
West South Central States	21,500,000
Mountain States	3,700,000
Pacific States	2,700,000

The strangest phenomenon shown here is that the consumers in the West-South-Central region, containing the four states of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and Oklahoma, would suffer more than any other region if the gas bill becomes law, and yet this is largely where pressure for passage of the bill is coming from. While the big gas companies, having wells located in this region, would profit greatly, the consumers in the same region would be hard hit.

The fate of the gas bill will be decided very shortly in the Senate. Senators Kerr and Johnson (D, Tex.), backed by other Senators from gas-producing states, are leading the fight for the bill. Senator Francis Myers (Pa.), Democratic whip; Senator James Murray (D, Mont.), veteran liberal, and Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), who also helped to lead the fight against the basing-point system, are leading the opposition. Senators Aiken (R, Vt.), Kefauver (D, Tenn.), Humphrey (D, Minn.) and Gillette (D, Iowa) have also indicated a keen interest in fighting the gas bill.

The oil-and-gas lobby is, of course, all out for the bill. Labor and consumer groups as well as municipalities have begun to move into opposition.

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Many Senators have not made up their minds on this issue, and the outcome will, to a much greater extent than usual, be decided on the basis of the debates and the mail basket. Rumors about President Truman's attitude continue to fly, but the Budget Bureau has stated that the bill is "not in accord with the President's program." As of this writing, the President has not repudiated this position. In view of his blasts at "special interests," it is difficult to imagine his accepting this bill. It is an outstanding example of the efforts of selfish interests to profit at the expense of the public welfare, against which he successfully campaigned.

531 SECRETARIES OF STATE

by Irving Brant

WHO IS IN CHARGE of diplomatic relations between the United States and foreign countries? The President and his Secretary of State? The Senate and House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Appropriations? Or any one of the 531 Congressmen who chooses to exert pressure, with or without a trip across the ocean at public expense?

These questions, grave in their portent of peace or war in an explosive world, should be asked by every thoughtful American. For a year now, we have been witnessing a steadily mounting effort by Congress to usurp the authority of the President, in whom the executive powers of the government are vested by the Constitution. Perhaps it should be called an effort *in*, rather than *by*, Congress, for it is a process unauthorized by the Congressional leadership. But that only makes it more irresponsible and thereby heightens the dangers arising from the magnitude of the usurpation.

In the framing and guidance of policy, and in administration, Dean Acheson is the first Secretary of State in a score of years who measures up to the requirements of this office. He stands out in the diplomatic arena as David Lilienthal did in the field of atomic energy. Internationally, his stamina has been fully demonstrated. In his dealings with Congress, he has held more ground than he has yielded, but has not yet reached the point where yielding either stops or becomes a habit.

As to Congress itself, there is every indication that the blind and brutal forces which helped to deprive the nation of Lilienthal's services are now turning their caterpillar treads toward Acheson. If this comes about, it will be merely the surface expression of the deeper drive in Congress to seize power which the Constitution has given to the President. The Senate's demand for State Department loyalty records, injected into the resolution to investigate charges by Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, is an assault upon the President himself. It is on that account the more easily repelled. There is greater danger when he is attacked through his subordinates.

A few weeks ago somebody in Tokyo caused the leakage of a confidential "guidance" message from the State Department, telling officials to prepare for the loss of Formosa to the Chinese Communists. At once there was a roar in Congress. Who prepared that message? Two men, it was said. Who were they? Their names! Hold a hearing and expose the rascals. Secretary Acheson came before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in executive session. Five Republican Senators, not on the committee, were invited as "guest observers." The Secretary of State told the committee that Formosa was not needed for defense of the American position in the western Pacific, and took full responsibility for the guidance message. He did not tell who wrote it.

What is the effect of this incident? It notifies the most competent men in the State Department that they are in danger if they judge the future of China by what is going on there, among 450 million people, rather than by what is going on in the minds of two dozen United States Senators here at home. It notifies the Secretary of State that he must be prepared to make a *public defense* of anything written for the *private information* of his own subordinates. Such pressures keep on operating, even when resisted. They operate either in the weakening of State Department morale, or in the increase of nerve fatigue in those who resist them.

Beyond this, however, what is the effect of haling cabinet members before Senate committees to defend actions for which they are accountable only to the President? Or of bringing up Army and Navy officers to entice or browbeat them into opposition to the policies of their superiors? It is the road to chaos. It destroys the responsibility of the cabinet member to the executive head, and of the President to the people.

How can the President be held to account for international decisions made by him or his Secretary of State under the whip or the chains of Congressional control? How can the Secretary make intelligent and fearless decisions of his own, within the compass of his duties, or carry out the orders of his chief, when every move subjects him to the declamatory fire of Congressmen

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whose clamor bears an inverse ratio to their knowledge and judgment? What responsibility can be exacted from Congress, which need but cite the Constitution to prove that it has none in this field?

At the time our basic charter of government was written, hereditary monarchy with strong prerogatives was the typical form of government in the Old World. In England, the crown possessed the great powers of war and peace. The king could declare and make war, restrained only by Parliament's control of the national revenues. The monarch made all treaties, subject in some instances to ratification by the lawmakers. International relations—the sending and receiving of ambassadors and the directing of their work—were exclusively within the royal prerogative.

The men who wrote our Constitution were influenced by the European system, but did not follow it. They cast out the idea that sovereignty was vested in a personal sovereign. Sovereignty lay in the people. With that idea prevailing, there was no room for the royal prerogative. It was not transferred to the President, but vanished totally.

In the minds of the framers of the American Constitution, liberty was insecure unless the powers of government were split among its different branches. Power must be divided according to its nature, with sufficient interlapping to furnish a guard against the evils arising from a total separation. The great aim was to guard against usurpation, by one branch, of power vested in another, and to prevent the arbitrary, rash or corrupt use of power by the branch in which it was vested.

Looking at the powers of war and peace, the framers said in effect: These are legislative powers. They are called executive in England only because they are part of the kingly prerogative. We shall vest them in Congress.

Treaties, the framers declared, were part of "the supreme law of the land." They were legislative, not executive, in nature. But international negotiation, both historically and by its nature, was executive. So the power of negotiating treaties was given to the President, but the consent of two-thirds of the Senate was required to make them the law of the land.

In this division of powers, the sending and receiving of ambassadors was classed as a purely executive function. It was given to the President, subject only to Congressional control of the budget and to the power of the Senate to confirm or reject individual nominees. In form, this made the President the inheritor of the royal prerogative, but there was no spirit of imitation.

In the first draft of the Constitution, the President was to *receive* ambassadors but the Senate was to *appoint* them and to make treaties. That put the recognition of foreign governments exclusively in the President's hands, but (on the theory that safety and wisdom lay in numbers) the Senate was given vital portions of the executive power, which was thereby diffused and weakened. James Madison, Gouverneur Morris and Rufus King were chiefly responsible for the final shift of these powers to the President, and Madison said the purpose was to obtain "a high-mounted government."

Thus we have a conscious, deliberate decision that the conduct of international affairs, in all its peacetime aspects, belongs primarily to the President, and exclusively so as far as actual diplomacy is concerned. That is the constitutional mandate under which our government operates.

Apply this to the present state of affairs and what do we see? In almost every controversial phase of government administration, we find Congress spilling over into the executive field, trying to enforce its will where it has no authority and no responsibility.

Since the power to declare war is vested in Congress, the lawmakers have a perfect right to compel the military occupation of Formosa—for (quibbles aside) what is proposed is war, even though the power to resist is absent. But it is a monstrous perversion of constitutional principles to put pressure on the President to make war without a declaration of it by Congress. Constitutionally, Congress can force the spending of money in any part of the world, but it is insanity to do so to carry out Congressional ideas of diplomatic policy in opposition to those of the branch to which that policy is assigned.

Any Senator or Representative has a right to protest, the same as any other citizen, against recognition of Communist China. But when 21 Senators unite in a letter to the President (as they did last June) against such recognition, they are engaged in mass action to transfer the executive power to Congress. Even individual expression can merge into such a mass force as to destroy the constitutional independence of the Executive and bar the exercise of intelligent judgment.

Consider the mass pressure that has been exerted in recent months on the subject of Spain. What shall we say of the threat by Senator McCarran that the State Department would have its budget cut (I quote the United Press) "unless it takes a friendlier attitude toward the Francisco Franco government"? What of the flocking of Senators and Representatives to Spain during the Congressional recess, there to give out interviews and make promises to Spanish officials contrary to the declared policies of the executive branch of government? Taken individually, three or four dozen quasi-Presidents of the United States are merely grotesque. Collectively, they terrorize our European friends with their tolerance of dictators and their ideas of military strategy, while at home they form a paralyzing incubus upon any sound and effective foreign policy.

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Most recently, Senator McCarthy's cheap, political charges of Communism in the State Department have been made the instrument of a direct assault upon the Presidency itself. As long ago as 1796, when President Washington rejected the request of the House of Representatives for papers bearing on Jay's treaty with England (for which supplemental legislation was needed), the principle was established that the furnishing of executive documents is optional with the President. At that time, the House carefully phrased its request to exclude papers which in the President's opinion ought not to be disclosed. Washington's refusal to furnish any whatsoever was of doubtful propriety, but nobody questioned his constitutional right to refuse. Today the Senate arrogantly challenges that right, and seeks to make the Judiciary its partner in usurpation by empowering a Senate committee to invade the White House with an illegal subpoena.

This wave of Congressional usurpation is the more dangerous because of its timing. It is mixed up with fear-engendered assaults on the civil rights of American citizens. It comes at a moment when all the peoples of the Orient—more than half of mankind—are in a state of flux and inbalance, ready, perhaps, to move with us or against us according to our reaction to their basic aspirations. It comes at a time when our friends in Western Europe, sick of wars and dictators, may be made firm or thrown into despair by our attitude toward the fascist hangover in that part of the world. It comes at a time when any blunder in statecraft, resulting from a capitulation to mass pressure, may plunge the world into an atomic war in which there will be two losers and no winners.

Within the limits of its proper functions, Congress can exert a vast and useful influence in world affairs. Through its control over money, it makes the basic decisions in national defense and has both a positive and a negative voice in international coöperation. Through the treaty power, and the need of legislation to make treaties effective, it has a veto over lasting commitments in foreign policy. By extension (to forestall a veto), this gives the Senate a constructive share in making such commitments. But when, in addition, the legitimate power of investigation is perverted into an inquisitory weapon, the balance is upset and usurpation begins.

Looking at the over-all picture, it is apparent at a glance that the legislative branch of our government is infinitely more powerful than the executive. It was recognized at the outset that this was true, and could not be otherwise. In a hereditary monarchy with high royal prerogatives, Madison observed in *The Federalist*, the executive department is justly regarded as the source of danger, and is watched with all the jealousy that a zeal for liberty ought to inspire. But in a representative republic, where the executive is carefully limited in duration and authority, and where the legislative power is exercised by a self-confident assembly numerous enough to feel the passions of a multitude, "it is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions."

The truth is, however, that neither popular jealousy nor constitutional precautions will prevail against a legislative ambition which is linked in any important degree with the passions of the people, or of strong and diverse minorities of them. A great jurist once said that the only restraint upon the Supreme Court was self-restraint. The days when that warning was needed are happily past. But is it not true, in the conflicts between the legislative and executive branches, that the only restraint upon Congress is self-restraint?

In the United States, we can talk about human rights because we have them. Unlike most of the peoples of the world, we are free to criticize governmental usurpation. Let it go far enough, and the right to protest will disappear. That is true no matter who does the usurping —Congress or the President.

From conscious usurpation, in a period of peace and prosperity, or even of cold war running into half-prosperity, we have nothing to fear. But usurpation is more a product of fear and insecurity than of ambitious planning. If Congress becomes impotent in its rightful field of lawmaking, if it chronically fails to legislate with wisdom and courage, economic collapse can produce an executive ready to ride the resulting whirlwind.

There is vastly more to dread from unconscious usurpation innocently motivated. Consider the motives for current Congressional invasions of the executive field—panic over Communism, hostility to organized labor, paramount ties of religion, dread of social and economic change, race prejudice, partisan zeal, fear of the atom bomb. Here are emotions which make men do wrong believing they are doing right. It is almost always so. No set of men in American history had greater faith in their own rightness than the Congressmen who seized executive power from President Johnson and inflicted injuries on the country from which it has not recovered in 80 years.

Congressional usurpation is a present-day reality, the more dangerous because it is so little recognized and because the worldwide effects are likely to run so far beyond their visible causes. Many members of Congress realize this, and are gravely concerned. But they do nothing to stop a course of conduct in their fellows that makes havoc of international relations, and substitutes passion for reason, prejudice for knowledge, at the most critical moment in human history. That can lead, not merely to disaster, but to annihilation.

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A JEW LOOKS AT VATICAN POLICY

by J. L. Teller

THE REASCENDANCE of Vatican influence in international affairs, and recent challenging utterances by Catholic dignitaries in this country on indigenous conditions flowing from basic American concepts at variance with Catholic doctrine, have been the subject of concern and worried exchanges of opinion among American Jewish organizations. These groups would hesitate, however, to spread their views on the public record. Their reluctance is comprehensible against the background of Jewish experience in Vatican-dominated lands from the earliest times.

The coinciding of the Jews' emancipation from the medieval ghetto with the decline of papal influence, and the emancipation's failure to strike any but weak roots in countries where that influence persisted unchallenged, were undoubtedly related to the traditional attitude of the Catholic Church toward the Jews. Their experience with Catholicism has in large measure irreparably inhibited Jewry's relationship with the Christian world. It is not racial memory alone, although that would suffice, but what they regard as a reaffirmation by Pope Pius XII of the old Church pattern with regard to the Jew, that has caused anxiety to Jews in the US and elsewhere.

The division of opinion between Americans of the Catholic and Jewish faith, respectively, on the issue of Jerusalem was predictable and inevitable. However, most Jews are vexed and some are even alarmed at the increasing evidence that the Catholic hierarchy, both here and in other countries, has taken the almost medieval position that this is a struggle between Jewry and Christianity. The Most Reverend Alberto Gori, recently given the post of Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, charged in a statement in June, 1949, that the Israeli government was pursuing "a policy hostile to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Palestine," and concluded that "we are therefore chagrined and have lost all trust in a people, who, after all, should be grateful to us since we have—even in recent times—risked our lives to protect it."

Even had his bill of particulars against the Israeli government been accurate, this shifting of responsibility from Israel to the shoulders of all Jews was understandably disconcerting to American Jewish organizations dealing with inter-faith and inter-community relations.

Father Gori's line has been not the exception but the rule in subsequent Catholic statements on Jerusalem. His allegations were frontpaged in the June 17 issue of the *Catholic Standard and Times*, the weekly of the Philadelphia Catholic diocese, which likewise frontpaged a call by Cardinal Dougherty to all Catholics to press the US Government to support internationalization of Jerusalem, and carried an editorial which spelled out Father Gori's indictment of Jews, specifically to embrace American Jewry as co-responsible for the conduct of the Israeli government:

> In all fairness, American Jews should exert every effort to remedy this situation [the editorial said]. For one thing, they owe every bit of appreciation to the Catholic Church for the protective and championing attitude it had towards all Jews when they were being excoriated in Germany and elsewhere under the maniacal despotism of Hitler. Secondly, as American citizens, as inhabitants of a land where democracy is seen at its best, these American citizens of Jewish ancestry should reasonably be expected to estimate that democracy so highly that they should want it to be present in this new nation of their ancestors.

From the very outset of the Arab-Israeli war and long before Israel explicitly refused to yield the Jerusalem sectors under its rule to international control, the Catholic press in this country anticipated Israeli policy by means of a series of dispatches, distributed by the news agency of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, alleging desecration of the sacred sites by Israeli troops. The interchangeable use of the terms "Jew" and "Israeli," with more frequent usage of the "Jew," caused even conservative Jews, who otherwise might have hesitated to intervene on such delicate issues, to approach the editor of the NCWC news agency and editors of various diocese newspapers with the request that, in the interests of better inter-faith relations in our own country, they give equal prominence to statements such as that issued on August, 1948, by Monsignor Vergani, Apostolic delegate, who said: "The conduct of the Jewish troops [in Galilee] has been correct, and in some cases they extend positive help to religious persons."

The Jewish interventions were largely ineffective; most Catholic papers continued to feature the allegations and disregard the refutations.

This Catholic campaign eventually assumed global proportions. The Dutch Zionist Federation has charged that not since the Nazi occupation has any periodical in the Netherlands conducted such a vigorous and vehement anti-Jewish campaign as has the Catholic press in connection with the Jerusalem issue.

J. L. Teller is the chief US correspondent for Davar, Israel's leading daily. A number of his articles have appeared in the New Republic.

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Most American Jewish groups found themselves aligned against the Church demand for the extension of federal aid to parochial schools, although Jewish all-day schools stood to gain from such aid. The scorn of Cardinal Spellman's first statement directed at Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for her Barden-bill column was moderate and conciliatory compared to the innuendoes used by some parish weeklies in discussing the opposition of Jewish groups to federal aid to religious schools. Again there was the ever recurrent insinuation that this was a war between Christianity and Judaism.

The crisis in relations between the Catholic hierarchy and Jewish American groups was aggravated by the Displaced Persons Act. The National Community Relations Advisory Council, on which such disparate groups as the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress are represented, has been waging a long and losing battle for the liberalization of the DP Act and concomitantly for the deletion of provisions setting a special quota for *Volksdeutsche*—persons of German origin who had fled or been expelled from Soviet-orbit areas at the end of World War II and, the evidence shows, had collaborated with the Nazis, specifically in the extermination of Europe's Jews.

In a statement issued some time in January, 1949, the National Catholic Resettlement Council requested Congress to increase the quota for *Volksdeutsche* by a full 100 percent, should the number of persons admitted under the DP Act be raised from 200,000 to an over-all figure of 400,000. The Catholic group, furthermore, stipulated that future immigration should be in proportion "to the racial and religious groups and elements represented in the various European camps."

The advocacy of race and religion as a gauge for immigration of Europeans to the US seemed a strange request from a religious minority in this country. Although it was already clear at the time that most Jewish DPs would be absorbed by Israel, so there was no reason for them to fear that their co-religionists would be victimized by the proposed Catholic amendment, the major Jewish groups were opposed, none the less, to setting a precedent of racial and religious discrimination in American legislation. For taking this line, some of the Jewish groups were immediately assailed by Catholic publications.

Disturbed by the renascence of anti-Semitism in Germany, and by the ominous worldwide implications should Germany be integrated in a Western alliance, Jewish observers in this country stress the fact that resurgent anti-Semitism is most manifest in Catholic Bavaria, where Adolf Hitler recruited his first votaries; that soon after the recent Austrian elections, which showed a relative decrease in Socialist strength, the Catholics demanded an early amendment—favorable to "former" Nazis—of the laws providing restitution to victims of racial and religious persecution; that Prince Hubertus von und zu Lowenstein, a Catholic refugee from Nazism who once was feted by Jews in this country, now leads a nationalist party in Germany. Alarmed at any encroachment on the secular state, Jews observe with some trepidation the coming to power in Europe of Vatican-supported Christian Socialist Parties, the very usage of the word Christian as an appendage to a political appellation implying, from the long view at any rate, exclusion of the non-Christian.

Jews trace this policy to Pope Pius XII, while still speaking fondly of his predecessor. They are concerned about the current Vatican policy, the atmosphere in which the campaign for the internationalization of Jerusalem was waged, the Catholic hierarchy's sponsorship of the *Volksdeutsche* as New Americans, the manner in which opponents of the *Volksdeutsche* quota and of federal aid for parochial schools were treated by Catholic weeklies, and the seemingly deliberate failure of Catholic clergy to educate their faithful in Eastern Europe that Jews as a group are not responsible for Jews in Communist governments. Jews who have come out of these countries have asked US Jewish groups to urge the "Voice of America" to undertake this task of education.

The Vatican has been publicly directing its scorn at the liberal era, in which the Jews fared best. In his address on the eve of the Holy Year, the Pontiff said:

> . . . After about two centuries of sorry experience and deviation, those who are still sincere and honest admit that plans and impositions of this sort, which bear the name but lack the substance of order, have not produced their promised results and fail to satisfy the natural aspirations of man. . . .
>
> In the social field the counterfeiting of God's plan has gone to its very roots by deforming the divine image of man. Instead of his real creative nature with origin and destiny in God, there has been substituted the false notion of a man whose conscience is a law unto himself, who is his own legislator, brooking no control, who has no responsibility towards his fellows and society, with no destiny beyond the earth and no other purpose than the enjoyment of finite goods, with no rule of life except that of the *fait accompli* and the unbridled satisfaction of his desires.

Urging that religion be "put . . . back into education," the Most Reverend Joseph F. Flanelly, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, scornfully referred to the public-school system as a product of the nineteenth century.

The era deplored by the Pope and by Bishop Flanelly witnessed the separation of Church and State, the emancipation of the Jews, the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the granting of women's suffrage.

The Jews feel that implicit in the prospect of Church infringement upon government is the reduction of the margin of their emancipation and equality.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Tears for the Oil Industry*

SENATOR TOM CONNALLY of Texas has discovered that Congress set up the Economic Coöperation Administration (ECA) in order to subsidize our starving oil industry, with special consideration to his Texas constituents who are so deft in mixing oil and politics that the concoction, when poured into a cocktail glass, is perfectly blended. Generally speaking, non-Texas taxpayers had thought that ECA was a plan by which, in spending dollars to assist in the economic recovery of the Western European nations, the United States would be helping its own economy.

How would we be helping Western Europe to recover economically if we insisted that Great Britain, although she has great oil interests of her own in the Middle East, must, nevertheless, buy dollar oil with the pound that was drastically devalued at the insistence of the United States?

To buy dollar oil means a great inroad upon the ECA funds that we vote for Britain. Underlying the Marshall Plan is the hope that Britain can reëstablish herself economically so as to be able to buy and sell her equitable share in the markets of the world. Also implicit is the hope that, with our help, Britain will be able to make good on the terrific losses that she suffered in the Second World War—losses which, by comparison, make our own less than negligible. To yield to Senator Connally's insistence would mean that ECA dollars would not be permitted to be spent for cheaper, but for more expensive American oil, thus paying a subsidy out of our own treasury to an American industry that is already bloated with prosperity.

Senator Connally, at a session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 24, made every decent American wince with embarrassment by an exhibition that must have affronted even the people of his own state. Texans are customarily forthright in their expressions, but they are courteous and considerate even toward the unfortunate person who may not have had the good fortune to be born in their state. W. John Kenney, chief of the ECA mission in Great Britain, was testifying. The urbane Connally delivered himself of: "While the government pays Kenney a big salary, all Kenney does is help Britain find ways not to buy American goods." (As if it were to buy American goods that we have voted ECA funds!) He followed this up by asking how much Kenney earned from the government. Kenney's reply was that his compensation and allowances exceeded $20,000 a year. Then followed this question by the Senator from Texas: "How much did you earn before you came to the government?" To this, Kenney replied quietly: "Between $70,000 and $80,000 a year. I'm not making money by this government job." Senator Connally decided to stop this line of questioning at this point.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts refused to be overawed by the Senator from oil-rich Texas. He interrupted the badgering of a witness who was doing his best to answer questions to observe that, "It is inconceivable and perilously close to nonsense to favor the importation into Britain of American oil because the process simply widens the dollar gap instead of closing it." Lodge convincingly argued that it would "put a burden on American taxpayers to fund and finance the export of a few favored industries." He added: "Let's not call it a European Recovery Program if we do that, but a subsidy to American industry."

Senator Lodge was entirely right. What his colleague from Texas was demanding would constitute a subsidy to the oil industry. If there is any industry in the United States that does not need or deserve a subsidy, it is the oil industry. Congress maintains a tariff on oil imported from abroad when we should be buying cheaper oil from outside the country in order to save more of our precious reserves against the possibility of another world war. More than this, we further subsidize domestic oil by an income-tax deduction representing 27.5 percent of the gross income provided that it does not exceed 50 percent of the net. In effect, this great saving on income taxes means that the oil companies, at least in large part, finance their exploration for new oil pools out of the public treasury. Ours the cost, theirs the profits!

The earnings of American oil companies have been simply fantastic during recent years—in fact, ever since the Second World War broke out. Moreover, oil has had altogether too great and too unwholesome an influence in our public affairs. The oil industry does not even have to give orders to certain Senators and Representatives. So anxious are some to please that they anticipate the enormous appetite of the industry for economic and political favors and give it more than it would have the hardihood to ask for. In any question affecting oil and the public welfare, Senator Connally should disqualify himself. Nor is he the only one. But he does not have the courage to do this. A self-disqualification, while it would add to his stature, might cause the industry to become dissatisfied with the services that he has faithfully rendered throughout the years.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

STUDIES IN THE PERMANENT CRISIS

by Robert Haich

THESE TWO BOOKS, although of different temperatures, both deal with the now critical struggle between Communist authority and capitalist democracy for control of the future. Neither work takes us very far toward a solution, but that is not a criticism; in our present condition of deadly stalemate, we must welcome what merely serves to keep discussion alive. *The God That Failed* is the passionate book of the two, the one that will occasion the more heated comments; but on the pragmatic level of clear thought and as a stimulus to clear thought in others, Hughes has made the more valuable contribution.

THE GOD THAT FAILED: A CONFESSION. Edited by Richard Crossman (Harper & Brothers; $3.50).
AN ESSAY FOR OUR TIMES, by H. Stuart Hughes (Alfred A. Knopf; $2.75).

Richard Crossman's symposium contains one chapter each from the lives of Arthur Koestler, Ignazio Silone, Richard Wright, André Gide, Louis Fischer and Stephen Spender. The first three of this group were once Communist Party members, the other three offered Communism an allegiance that only technically fell short of membership (Spender, indeed, carried a card for a few weeks, but he looks upon the period as at most a novitiate and, since faith obviously plays a large part in this matter, we may abide by his point of view).

It is not possible here to discuss the six autobiographies in detail and it would not be profitable to do so. The differences among them are of factual detail and emotional emphasis, and since these men have long since impressed their personalities upon us, it is not difficult to predict the flavor of each contribution. One would expect, for example, that Gide would give his soul to the party but reserve his mind for his own use, and that he would put his resignation in the form of a sermon; that Koestler would be the least generous and the most dogmatic but also the wittiest; that Silone's account would be the most warmly human and that he would be the most quickly repelled by dishonesty; that Wright would be the least able to protect himself and the one to suffer most bitterly. Stripped of personality differences, the stories follow an identical pattern. In each case, an intellectual, endowed with a highly developed ethical sensitivity and living in a time of moral famine, embraces what he believes to be the theory of Marxist justice, only to discover that what he has seized is the practice of Stalin's despotism. Each of them thereupon makes his departure as best he can and as soon as he can. None of these six was forced to "escape" in the lurid sense now journalistically popular, but neither did any of them get back unscathed: at the least, they lost their innocence.

It is fashionable today to criticize an enthusiasm for utopia as unbecomingly naïve, but in historical perspective, the credulity of such men earns them more honor than contempt. In the years before Munich, none of us knew much about the progress of the proletarian revolution; many saw it as the only moral force in a world gone flaccid and many who resisted seduction did so, not because their intellects were strong, but because their souls were timid. Surely it was an awkward thought to call this book a confession. The word places on the contributors the burden of exculpating themselves from a crime, but in fact the crime was committed *on* them, not *by* them. It distracts attention from the most important contribution the book has to make: the reminder that men's acts must be understood in context and not by hindsight.

The reason why *The God That Failed*, for all its colorful detail and passing illuminations, makes no lasting impression is that it is evidence in a trial that has long since ended. Crossman says that it explains why the intellectual has parted company with the revolution, why the revolution has contempt for its thinkers. But we don't need a book for that, a sentence will do: it was not a revolution these men quit but the tightest and most ruthless of *status quos*. If idealists and artists were departing in droves for the Promised Land today, there might be great use in these notes from returned travelers, but the emigration is over. And though these six speak tellingly of the past, they have strikingly little to say that is useful for us in the future.

They emerged from their ordeal convinced that freedom cannot be compromised, that a society which does not respect individual dignity is a hell on earth; they believe, as Spender says, that "the peoples and nations who love liberty [must] lead a movement throughout the world to improve the conditions of the millions of people who care more for bread than freedom; thus raising them to a level of existence where they can care for freedom." Very true and scarcely arguable; what we seek now is the way.

If *The God That Failed* is little help in the strategy of the future, it does at least suggest one article of tactical policy that could save our federal police and assistant watchdogs a good deal of noisy wrongheadedness. This book is compelling evidence that when a Communist is cured, he is cured permanently. He may not know how to make the world safe for democracy, but that is the side on which he is going to fight, and we do ourselves no service by raking up his political past as evidence of degeneracy and political unreliability. Any of these six is as good a security risk as General Groves—and much more likely to spot a Communist in mufti.

H. Stuart Hughes is enough younger than the men of *The God That Failed* to have escaped the traps that were set for them. In any case he is not likely to have been caught, for he is an observer of life, not a joiner. Hughes clearly belongs to the Western humanitarian world, but he examines the pos-

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sibilities of the future with the unemotional curiosity of a pathologist running slides through a microscope. *An Essay for Our Times* is very cold; it would please none of the writers who contributed to Crossman's symposium and they might challenge the author's right to speak from academic sanctuary. But Hughes, now teaching history at Harvard, has a background that is not entirely academic. He served in the Army, first as an enlisted man, later as an officer in OSS (the Mediterranean and Germany). After the war he was for two years chief of the Division of Research for Europe in the State Department. He is a grandson of Charles Evans Hughes.

An Essay for Our Times employs the established experimental method of approaching truth: it adopts a hypothesis and then sees how much of the furniture of immediate reality can be fitted into it. The method has the advantage that it permits one to get on with the work before all the information is in; it has the parallel disadvantage that it arrives at no absolute, is better considered as a guide to present action than as a final pronouncement on the nature of things.

Hughes derives his hypothesis from Spengler via Toynbee: that civilizations are subject to the life process, that ours approaches its dotage and that the closing epoch will be marked by the emergence of a single great power which will enforce order and tranquillity after a period of chaos and disintegration. Such a state cannot nourish a new ethic, cannot really reanimate the old, but it can preserve the forms and provide a tolerable forum and marketplace for human intercourse for a considerable period of time. Imperial Rome is the example from the past; the new Caesarism, Hughes conjectures, may bear the name of world confederation; in fact, Russia will abstain and the US will exercise complete authority. In its guardian role, the United States would necessarily assume a new and sterner posture. Hughes does not find fascism implicit in the corporate state; he believes that the extension of economic control is not effected necessarily at the expense of social freedom. He is convinced, in any case, that the corporate state is the only one that can prevail.

Hughes admits that his conclusions are exceedingly tentative (some readers may also feel that they are markedly optimistic) and he presses them very gently. The virtue of his book is that it has much to offer by way of incidental illumination even to those who resist its summation.

Hughes's testing of the Spengler-Toynbee hypothesis opens with parallel chapters on the present anxiety of both the intellectual and the private citizen. Our writers have lost their way, become involved in a recurrent, subjective nightmare, found their only escape in the icy stoicism of the Existentialist's "bearing witness" against evil. We write now for the record, as a man caught in the maelstrom will cry out his own name.

And as practical men we have given up the effort of directing our affairs. In two or three brilliant paragraphs, Hughes characterizes the statesmen of our era—conscientious, intolerably harried, crushed by responsibilities to which they feel themselves unequal. Leaders and led, the race of Western man is glued to a telephone and effective only as a technician. As a human being, his characteristic attitude is bewilderment heightened by terror. If the final stage of a civilization is announced by a disintegration of values, an inability to communicate, a failure of understanding, there is abundant evidence that we approach it.

Since Western Christian civilization is about to go into receivership, it is pertinent to look about for its successor. Hughes tests Russia for the role, but though he finds some indications that she is the heir presumptive, he declines to commit himself. It is the irritating fact about *An Essay for Our Times* that it always evades the practical issue between Russia and the West, taking refuge in a plea of scientific tentativeness and suggesting that time may reveal controlling factors yet unguessed. Hughes seems to enjoy a greater feeling of leisure than most of us can summon today.

For all that, the chapter on Russia—"The Transmutation of Marxism"—is perhaps the most valuable in the book. It traces, for those who do not know or have been propagandized into forgetting, the logic of events that transformed the rational doctrine of Marxism into the despotic practice of Communism. Hughes reconstructs the evolution in terms both of the special political, economic and spiritual forces that operated in Russia and of the structural development of governing machineries in general. The effect of the analysis is, not to make the facts of Communist tyranny more palatable, but to show their place in the causal chain of historical processes. Observers who note where Russia branched off from the main trunk of political evolution, who recognize the forces, internal and external, that produced its extreme variants, are less likely to subscribe to the "mad-dog" school of therapy. Furthermore, to recognize that the USSR *evolved* to its present form is to recognize that it may evolve beyond it. To that extent Hughes justifies his conclusion that time is our present best hope. He quietly disposes of the misleading equating of Communism with Fascism; he asserts persuasively that, however alien they may be to our own tenets, however serious may be the present deviation from them, the values of Soviet society are real and meaningful. His chapter on Russia is the kind of statement that brings a riotous meeting to order and permits the discussion to continue.

In a similar recapitulation of developments in Western Europe, Hughes points out that the Social Democratic "center" is being increasingly pressed by the extremes, that it has lost almost all freedom of action, depends for its existence on American support and would undoubtedly fall before the authoritarians of the Right in an hour of crisis. His world state of the future is more convincing from the negative evidence of Europe than from any positive developments he detects in America. In fact, his argument for American hegemony boils down to the necessity for accepting it in default of an alternative.

Finally, much of Hughes's discussion of America's fitness for the role assigned to her presents familiar material in new focus. He points out that our highly publicized (and very real) freedom as individuals is kept within narrow limits by a tacit but disciplined obedience to convention and that this in turn gives the highest survival value

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to mediocrity. We are, he finds, the most profoundly middle-class and conservative of nations, and we produce an atmosphere inimical to the growth of an intellectual elite. The result may be a tolerant and decent society, but can it rule a world? Hughes points to the emergence of the "sophisticated conservative," a new species earlier discovered by C. Wright Mills. The welfare state is here to stay, and as the bitterly won reforms of successive "Deals" become part of the settled pattern, their administration is taken over more and more by the conservatives. These are not the faithful attendants upon the GOP elephant; they are a more enlightened group who accept the inevitable and turn it to their use. A glance at Washington today will show what Hughes has in mind. He sees such men as forerunners of the corporate state—leaders who will eventually reconcile the needs of labor, business and government, bring discipline to the local scene and extend its benefits to the world. It is perhaps true, as Hughes hopes, that they can preserve freedom in the process, perhaps true that they will want to. His remarks on the tendency of government to regularize opposition out of existence, made in connection with Russia's history, are not encouraging on this point.

But here again Hughes's conclusions are less important than his observations en route. His book throughout is a fine spade for turning up ground grown hard from much stamping.

BRIEF COMMENT

Special Friendships, by Roger Peyrefitte (Vanguard; $3.50).

In France, this novel received the acclaim it deserved. It may fail of that success here because the subject—boys' life in a Catholic boarding school—is probably as alien, even as sinister, to the average secular American as the Inquisition was to Elsie Dinsmore.

"Be careful of your friendships," is the incessant injunction preached to young George de Sarre and his schoolmates. "Let them never be those special friendships which cultivate only sensibility, for sensibility is easily converted into sensuality." But the rigid discipline of the school fostered the very thing it was designed to prevent, while the emotionalism—not to say eroticism—of the religious devotion converted the sensibility, when not "into sensuality," into hysteria. George conceives such a "special friendship" for a younger boy. Already precocious, he grows ingenious in duplicity. His lies and intrigues he justifies by the sham of his instructors and superiors whose natural complacency shelters in the jargon of conventional piety. "He was still a boy, though already living amid sacrilege, imposture, and forbidden friendships."

The situations are lurid enough, in all truth: the school is described as "a breeding ground of abominations." But the author writes from such an ingrained familiarity with his subject that he seems perfectly at home in it, and though he rattles the foundations, he doesn't pull his house down about his ears. He discriminates, and finally accepts the school and the Church just as he accepts the inevitable stress and tragedy of adolescence.

The novel has its weaknesses: the tone shuttles abruptly between the wittily satiric and the elegiac; in this last connection, our credulity and our patience are somewhat taxed by the mature value placed on infantine flirtations. But for all this, it is a rare book—informed, compassionate, mature—and justly appreciated by Felix Giovanelli's translation.

The Women on the Wall, by Wallace Stegner (Houghton Mifflin; $2.75).

This collection of eighteen stories claims a kind of geographical continuity: each is situated in a different place on the North American continent. They were all written "from fairly extensive residence" in their settings, the author informs us, and "represent a distillation of my rather overbearing sense of place." Stegner's sense of place must have overborne him, as he says, because he certainly hasn't conquered it, and apart from such landmarks as the Pacific Ocean or a Mexican volcano, the locale doesn't intrude or determine the nature of the stories.

Stegner is director of the creative-writing program at Stanford University; one might take his cue from that and define this book by the usual limits of such a program. There is a low vitality in the conception of the stories; the prose, though frequently inert, is easy and correct; there is variety of theme and plot; the author's good taste scrupulously disdains the cheap, facile effect. J. F.

Years of the Modern. Edited by John W. Chase (Longmans, Green; $3.50).

The writers of the essays in this volume seem to have been successfully inoculated against the palsy of the wrist which is the occupational disease of most contributors to symposia like this one. For example, H. S. Commager's portrait of the American is well-rounded, if overly flattering. Walton Hamilton's lament for the radical, who has less scope in an America increasingly fenced in by the expansion of the corporate imperium, is both mordant and stimulating. At present, when the sphere of government control is expanding, his question as to why a government bureau like the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Civil Aeronautics Board, set up to regulate an industry in the consumers' interest, inevitably becomes the agent of that industry against the consumer, is particularly timely. Most impressive is J. K. Galbraith's felicitously written and penetrating analysis of the reasons for the uneasy state of the contemporary businessman's conscience, which is compounded of his recognition that the fact of monopoly contradicts the theory of competition; that the government, which he professes to abhor as the enemy of free enterprise, is striving to maintain it; that the majority of his fellow Americans reject the free-enterprise doctrine (as symbolized by Republican candidates); and, last, of his awareness of the possibility of another devastating depression, which, if our system were as good as its apologists say it is, should not occur.

Excellent as are many of the individual articles, it is hard to say what they add up to. Perhaps the most important common themes are to be found in the concern felt by the contributors at the emergence of certain troubling tendencies on the current scene, like the growing trend of enforcing loyalty by decree; the

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increase of restrictions on educational opportunity because we are in a warlike posture and fear heresy; our ignorance of and lack of interest in world affairs despite our unrivaled access to information concerning them. This in turn is due to the failure of our educational system to arouse interest in large, impersonal issues, in those political and economic policies which for all their seeming abstractness determine the course of our lives and, in this era of the atom, the time of our deaths. Related is that even more fundamental fault of education in the US, its seeming inability to inculcate in us a civic conscience that can be aroused to indignation—and action—by injustice and oppression. THEODORE NORMAN

ON THE AIR: The Reformed Gadfly

FOR ALMOST THREE YEARS, the New York newspapers have been suffering from a local irritation. Radio, despised by the press as an uncouth stepchild, was daring to criticize its elders. In 1947, the Columbia Broadcasting System started a 15-minute, Saturday evening (6:15) program called "CBS Views the Press." True, the show was being broadcast in New York only, but the press under review was also local. To many journalists in the town the whole affair seemed very much like a cross between treason and extremely bad taste. Openly they smiled, inwardly they fumed.

The fourth estate can now relax. CBS still views the press—same time, same station. But Don Hollenbeck, who edited and broadcast the program from its beginning, is no longer in the cast. Nor are his trenchant judgments, his conviction that a newspaper should reflect society's needs, his ability to bite with loving care or caress with a kick.

I remember Hollenbeck lighting into the New York press for its indignant discovery that a lady wearing shabby mink had been a recipient of relief. I recall him exposing the manner in which the papers treated the government's antitrust suit against the A&P after the grocery chain had taken full-page advertisements giving its side of the case. Hollenbeck spoke about journalistic practices from the inside. Once a newspaperman himself, and a good one, he took journalistic criticism seriously. He saw faults, and pointed to them; he observed achievements and noted them with pleasure; he acted not as mischievous goad but as responsible fellow craftsman exercising his suffrage among his peers. Labels and smears and hysteria didn't confuse him. When he discussed the way in which the New York newspapers treated the first Alger Hiss trial while it was *sub judice*, he made many a reporter squirm. On one occasion, when he thought the *Daily Worker* should be given credit, he gave it.

All that is over. At this writing, I have listened to "CBS Views the Press," sans Hollenbeck, for three weeks. The program now has the same relationship to criticism that a gossip column has to news. The night Ingrid Bergman gave birth to a baby, I met a reporter from International News Service who bought drinks all around. What he was celebrating was not motherhood or sin, but the fact that INS had licked the United Press with the intelligence about the little Rossellini "by ten minutes, by God." It seemed incredible; it was also not quite accurate. "CBS Views the Press" straightened out the whole thing for me the following Saturday. INS scooped the UP by only nine minutes. However, the AP, I discovered, did not catch up with the facts for ten hours.

I doubt whether anyone at CBS has deliberately directed a change in the program's editorial slant. All CBS did was to change staff. Hollenbeck—who may have tired of a thankless task—is being given a whack at other programs with commercial possibilities never inherent in his Saturday-evening broadcast. Ed Scott, who shared most of the writing with him, has also gone to other pastures. Douglas Edwards, whose voice sounds expensive, has taken over.

Broadcasters have learned to accept criticism, much of which comes from newspapers. The press has always been like a spoiled brat when anyone dared say a cross word about it. It could dismiss A. J. Liebling's critiques in the *New Yorker* as another idiosyncrasy of a journal notable for its vagaries. It could laugh when Ralph Ingersoll started a column of press criticism in his early months with *PM*, holding—correctly—that the entire venture was doomed to early failure. But when CBS rapped a newspaper's knuckles, that hurt. CBS was using 50,000 watts of power behind its voice. Even if the program had a relatively light Hooperating, it was heard where it counted—by the more intelligent New York readers.

Now that hurdle has been passed. Edwards isn't even addressing the old Hollenbeck audience. One week he made fun of the *Daily Mirror* for wasting five pages on photographic minutiae connected with the arrest of the "Valentine Killer." On the following session, he took a mild poke at Igor Cassini, who uses the Cholly Knickerbocker by-line over the Society column in the *Journal-American*. "Ah me!" sighed Edwards, concluding that broadcast, "there's only one Winchell."

Then why try, CBS?

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: A Good Play

THE THEATRE GUILD has produced a perfunctory musical called "Arms and the Girl," based on Lawrence Langner and Armina Marshall's old comedy "The Pursuit of Happiness," which dealt with the pleasant New England practice of bundling. The best part of "Arms and the Girl" is Pearl Bailey, who combines an insidiously mischievous sensuality with an offhand New Yorkish shrewdness. The show also offers one fresh number—a kind of country-bumpkin dance, with the exuberant, peasantlike health that often characterizes Michael Kidd's choreography.

Much better than this is the Guild's production of William Inge's "Come Back, Little Sheba." If the term had a precise connotation, I would call it a good play, but considering the fast-and-loose parlance of theatrical reporting, a

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"good play" may be anything from "Death of a Salesman" to "The Innocents," so that simply to call a play good is no definition at all, beyond an indication of approbation.

For the purposes of this department, I define a good play as one that embodies a true experience of life in an honest and absorbing manner. Sometimes the author's main contribution is the honesty, while the "absorbing manner" is provided by the players, the director and the other craftsmen who have made the production. It may be of critical value to distinguish which artist has contributed what particular element to our enjoyment, but from a purely theatrical standpoint what we see on the stage as a whole is *the play*. On this basis, "Come Back, Little Sheba" is a good play.

It is true Americana of a kind that has become rather rare on the stage for the past ten years or more. In the days when a few playwrights tried to translate a feeling about American lower-middle-class life to the stage in the manner of such American novelists as Sherwood Anderson or—in a slightly different mood—Josephine Herbst, there were many more plays like this one by William Inge. But the reticence, humbleness and lack of spectacular theatrics in "Come Back, Little Sheba," together with its unhappy core, make it bitter medicine for playgoers who require their realism "hyped up."

The play is a picture of little, repressed people living, with all their inhibitions, moral confusion, awry ideals and profound isolation, in a kind of Middletown heartbreak house. The drab spiritual desert that forms the atmosphere for these people would justify our calling "Come Back, Little Sheba" a form of suicide literature were it not for an element of tenderness that sweetens it. The author manages to introduce this softer touch into his unyielding portrait not through any process of poetic ennoblement or social interpretation, but by a human sympathy, which is sounder than tolerance.

The play is directed with admirable sensitivity by Daniel Mann (his is one of the best jobs of the season) and is acted with a corresponding sense of modest truth by Shirley Booth, Sidney Blackmer, Joan Lorring, Daniel Reed and the others. With this production, Shirley Booth, who has always been taken for granted as an expert comedienne, comes into her own as an important actress. Sidney Blackmer, exclusively associated in many minds with the "old" (Belasco) school, proves his mettle in the more subdued and subtle style of contemporary realism, and Miss Lorring shows decided promise in an attractive blending of the street-earthy and the lyric.

My prejudiced opinion of "The Bird Cage" (which I directed) is that it offers one of the best casts in New York today, that several of its performances are among the really exciting examples of good acting to be enjoyed on any stage anywhere, and that Boris Aronson's set is the most original and striking of the season—an illustration of how the discoveries of modern art can be made to serve both the functional and atmospheric problems of a many-scened play without striking an audience as too obviously stylized or "unrealistic."

The script of "The Bird Cage," by Arthur Laurents, is a provocative but unfulfilled piece of work. It attempts a difficult thing: to make routine material (melodramatic action in a metropolitan night club) serve the purposes of an allegory about the all-pervasive fear and concomitant power-hunger that are characteristic of our society. Allegory is, at best, a perilous form; it can succeed only when it is frankly presented as such and enhanced by unusual powers of insight and utterance, or when its symbols are so vividly projected that they become self-sufficient as reality. (Kafka's novels are allegories of the first type; Odets' "Golden Boy" is a successful play of the second type.) Laurents' artistic immaturity makes his allegory appear more like hackneyed melodrama than his intention bespeaks; a lack of subjective freedom, a kind of emotional stoppage (which he will overcome with time) make his realism theatrically less gratifying than it should be. The directorial plan was to fill or complement the gaps in the script's creative scheme. The results may not be completely satisfactory; I do not believe that they are uninteresting.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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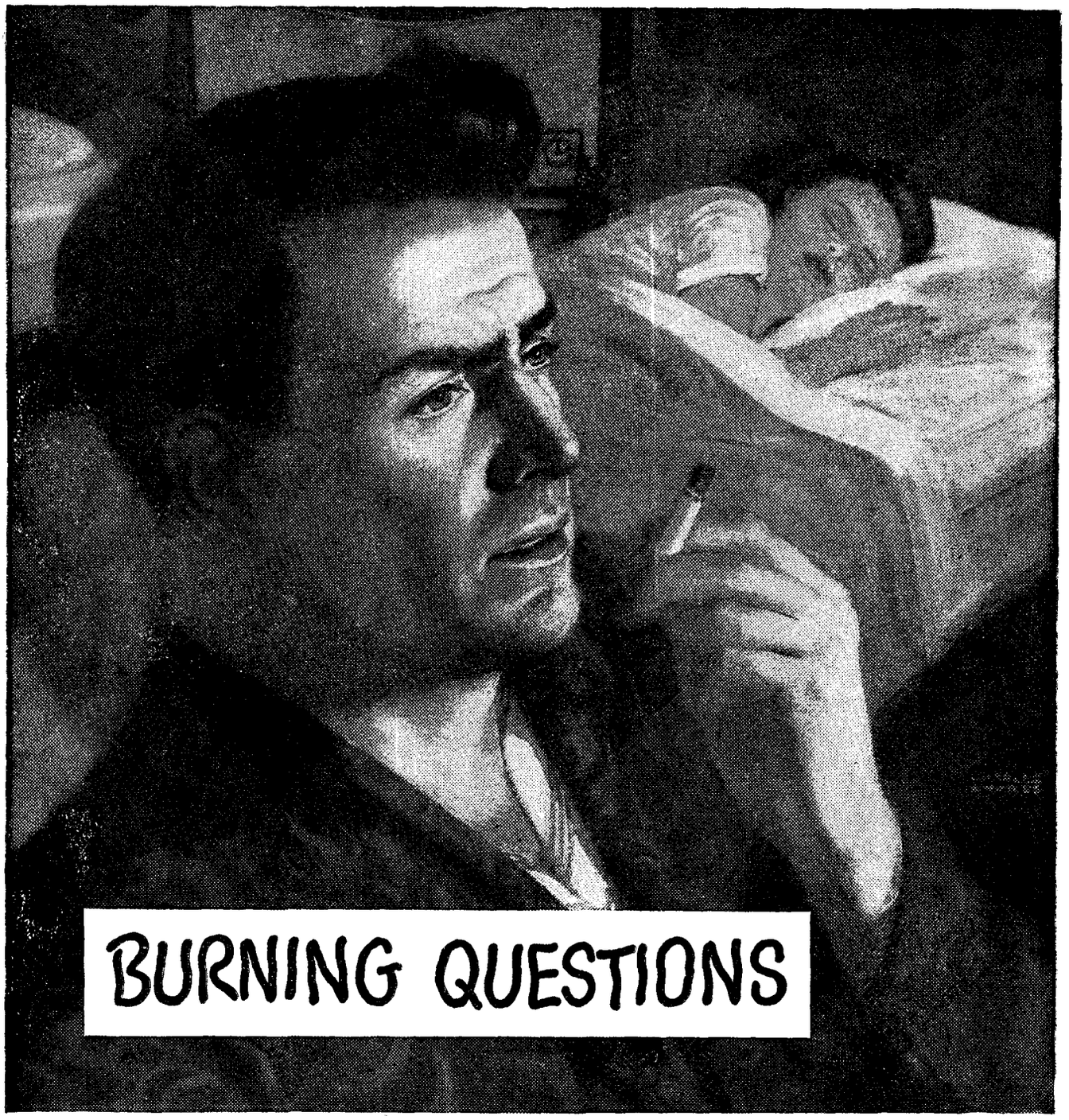

Late at night, some men do their hardest worrying. Each thought glimmers and glows like the burning end of a cigarette. Chain-thoughts like these:

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